NATIONAL REVIEW

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April 26, 1958

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

Tiger in the White House

L. BRENT BOZELL

Soviet Education: Myth and Fact

EUGENE LYONS

Free Farmers Not Wanted

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Articles and Reviews by . . . . . RODNEY GILBERT

FORREST DAVIS · STEPHEN J. TONSOR · RUSSELL KIRK

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For the Record

The AFL-CIO is undertaking a $1,200,000 public relations campaign designed to soften anti-union feeling in some parts of the country. . . . Secretary Benson's announcement that farm income is running 11 per cent above last year has further softened criticism from GOP candidates in the farm belt area. . . . Former Presidential Aide Major General Harry L. Vaughan will get his foreign medals after all. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has approved a bill permitting more than 500 former military and government officials to accept awards from foreign countries.

Western newsmen are getting an official brushoff in Moscow on all inquiries into the subject of Second Secretary of Embassy Vladimir Lukachevitch, who defected in Pnompenh. Americans think he will turn up in Tokyo, or Australia. . . . Britain's new budget calls for a tax reduction, but smaller than the public had expected. Officials gave the recession in the United States as the reason for their caution.

Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer was a guest speaker before 160 newspaper editors from 25 nations attending the International Press Institute in Washington last week. According to one press service, Oppenheimer was introduced as a man who lost his security clearance because he was "excessively loyal to his friends" and sometimes displayed "a disdain for the cops." . . . New York's famous Tavern on the Green in Central Park has cancelled a scheduled "appeal for freedom" dinner in behalf of convicted spy Morton Sobell. . . . The letter from a South Vietnamese girl which the Washington Post so obligingly published has been joyfully reprinted in the North Vietnamese Communist weekly, Thong Nhat. The editorial comment: "Miss Le My's questions are related to the Vietnamese people's present struggle against the U.S. imperialists' military interference in South Vietnam and for peaceful reunification of the country."

While Washington is under increasing pressure to reduce taxes, many city and county governments, including New York City, are being pressed to increase local taxes to finance across-the-board pay boosts for civil servants. . . . New Jersey residents are chuckling over the TV "blooper" on primary eve by one senatorial candidate who urged his supporters "to get out tomorrow and vote—early and often."

NATIONAL REVIEW

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

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The WEEK

● A most extraordinary week. The President courageously vetoed a preposterous pork barrel bill (remember the cry, after Sputnik, for sacrifices? Who has been asked to make one thus far?); Dean Acheson came out firmly against a summit conference; Mr. Dulles handled himself brilliantly at a press conference, and effectively made his point that the Soviet Union is debauching diplomacy by its method of communicating with other nations; Mr. Arthur Krock finally came out and said it, as directly as one can say such a thing and remain Arthur Krock, that Mr. Truman is a liar; and Paul Hoffman made a sensible, repeat sensible, proposal. Could it be that Strontium 90 affects the mind, as well as the body? *Love* that fallout.

● The French government of Felix Gaillard, 25th casualty since the end of the war, fell on the issue of accepting the Anglo-American "good offices" mission in handling the dispute between France and Tunisia. After an unusually bitter and consequential debate, an opposition amalgam combining Communists with the Mendès-France group and the Gaullists rolled up a no-confidence vote of 321-255. Since the opposition majority is not linked on any programmatic basis, it cannot get together in a new government. The prospect is for an interregnum of several months, during which France will have no authoritative spokesman. The sharpest attack on M. Gaillard was mounted by the Gaullist leader, Jacques Soustelle, who declared that French decisions were being made in Washington, which was carrying out a "perpetual Munich" (*i.e.*, appeasement) policy toward the Arab world. M. Soustelle and his associates are maneuvering for the return of General de Gaulle to power under an agreement to replace the present French constitution with a system providing, in their words, "a strong executive on the American model."

● A meeting of the foreign ministers of Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Poland (Manfred Lachs appearing as deputy for the ill Polish minister, Adam Rapacki) has just taken place in Prague. Reports indicate that the chief topic was the campaign to block the atomic arming of West Germany. The satellite regimes find themselves in a puzzling situation. On the one hand, they share a traditional fear of German militarism that goes back a couple of centuries before the Communist takeover. On the other, they know that Moscow will not trust their own armies with atomic weapons, no matter what West Germany does. (After all, they might get the missile guidance systems turned in the wrong direction, when it came time for launching.) So the Rapacki Plan for the "atomic neutralization" of East and Central Europe (including West Germany) seems the most attractive way out, especially because it meets with popular as well as governmental favor in the three nations.

● Robert Amory, the CIA Deputy Director who told a Harvard *kaffeeklatsch* in December 1955 that the government's "chief problem" was conditioning the American people to accept Red China's admission to the UN, was in rare form at a recent meeting of the New York Council on Foreign Relations. He reiterated his belief that recognition and admission of Red China are inevitable, and that America will simply lose further face by resisting them. As for Russia, Amory foresaw no return to Stalinism; Khrushchev's position, he said, was more comparable to that of Walpole among the peers of the realm. The off-the-record speech by America's No. 2 Intelligence official took place four days before Nikita Walpole ousted Premier Bulganin and seized total power.

● In a Marxist country (like Poland) the workers own the factories. Lenin has said it, and it must be so. Eighteen months ago Wladyslaw Gomulka decided that the worker-owners of factory property had the right—nay, the clear duty—to exercise responsibility for its use. Accordingly, he permitted them to set up some 5,000 workers' councils to decide on questions of labor-management policy. Comes, now, the weary *dénouement*: "Tito" Gomulka, galloping back to Stalinist monolithism as fast as his legs will carry him, has decided to "dissolve" the workers' councils into larger bodies which are "more susceptible to party control. . . ."

● An underground explosion in the Soviet Union on March 25 was detected by seismographs in Nevada and Montana, more than 5,000 miles away. The Soviets subsequently described the explosion as "non-atomic." Whether this is true or not we have no means of knowing. Nuclear suspension fanatics please note.

● According to Munich monitors of Radio Liberation who recorded Khrushchev's recent extemporaneous remarks on Hungary, the Soviet boss made a large number of damaging, incoherent or merely drunken admissions which were subsequently "tailored" out of the speech when it came to be "reproduced" by Tass, the official Soviet news agency. Omitted from the Tass report are references to the now deposed Hungarian Stalinist Premier Rakosi as being "guilty for what happened in Hungary"; Khrushchev's admission that the present Hungarian leader Janos

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Kadar once spent five years in jail under the Communist regime; and the Khrushchev argument that Western correspondents "don't report the truth in a way they should to serve the people." Another deletion was that of an idiomatic taunt, directed at all Westerners, which might be freely translated as "we'll show the bastards." The discrepancy between the original speech and the "official" version should be a warning: Never believe that Khrushchev actually said what he is said to have said.

The grand jury called to investigate the tax returns of Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr. has two weeks to live. Sixty-one weeks have gone by since it was last convened to hear evidence.

● Nikita Khrushchev has just paid the Jews the nicest compliment imaginable: he has accused them of too much "individualism." "The Jews are interested in everything," Khrushchev recently told a reporter for *Le Figaro;* "they get to the bottom of everything, discuss everything and wind up having profound cultural divergencies." This bit of rationalization for Soviet anti-Semitism is just what the doctor ordered to create pro-Semites in the non-Socialist world. We remember what Hitler got for his own brand of anti-Semitism. We wish the same for Khrushchev's "thousand-year Reich."

● Five members of the British Labor Party—John Baird, Arthur Lewis, Marcus Lipton, Walter Monslow and Stephen Swingler—have broadcast over the Moscow radio their support of the Russian position on stopping nuclear tests. Representatives of the anti-Communist Left, no doubt.

● The pro-Communists, of course, and the Liberal Left, of course, are protesting the nomination of Judge Irving R. Kaufman of the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, to the United States Court of Appeals in New York. Why do the pro-Communists oppose Judge Kaufman? Because, to quote a letter by Vincent Hallinan in the *National Guardian,* he presided over the "judicial murder" of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. Why the Liberal Left? Because, to quote from the *New Republic,* Judge Kaufman is an undistinguished judge (reason? the *New Republic* says so), and it therefore follows that his contemplated promotion is reward for the only very noticeable thing he has done, *i.e.,* hand down a death sentence against the Rosenbergs. Knowing only about twice as much as the *New Republic* about professional qualifications for promotion up the judicial ladder, we do not presume to comment on Judge Kaufman's credentials. As to the contentious point, we say merely Judge Kaufman did his duty, with courage and conscience, and we honor him for it.

● When U. Alexis Johnson was reassigned, the State Department appointed a successor to continue "talks" with Red China about imprisoned Americans. These talks have been going on in Geneva since the summit meeting: and not an American has been freed on their account. Red China objects that it will not hold meetings with any negotiator of less than ambassadorial rank. The U.S. insists upon its right to have itself represented by a first secretary sent out from its London Embassy. NR, pursuant to its slogan "never negotiate with the Communists," enthusiastically supports both parties to this controversy, earnestly hopes neither will yield an inch.

● The U.S. Treasury has taken to printing in large type the legend "In God We Trust" on its newest issues of dollar bills. Presumably because the gold standard no longer exists?

What About Cuba?

What will happen in Cuba? Yesterday we were told Fidel Castro would overthrow Batista in a matter of days. Today Castro makes his *Putsch,* and is rebuffed, easily. No mind, says Castro; when Batista loses, he'll lose everything. When I lose, I lose nothing. So maybe not tomorrow, maybe not the next day, but some day soon, victory.

What is an American to think of all this? Normally, he would not think about it at all. It is not an American habit to penetrate the infinite maze of Latin American politics. Normally even very well-informed Americans would not know whether Fidel Castro was fighting for Cuban independence or for the Bolivian tin trust; whether Fulgencio Batista was a Caribbean strongman or middleweight champion of the world. But this kind of indifference is no longer possible. It is not possible, to begin with, because of the foreknowledge that our mortal enemies will endeavor to transform every back alley brawl into a skirmish in the international class struggle. The second reason is that the attention of the public is being seduced by ideological journalism. The disappearance of Jesús de Galíndez of Columbia University two years ago was an interesting and poignant story. But it would hardly have become a raging national issue; that happened because the Liberal press, quarterbacked by the *New York Times,* has it in for General Trujillo of the Dominican Republic, the putative abductor. General Fulgencio Batista

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typifies, politically, much that Liberalism decries; and so when Fidel Castro landed his yacht on the Eastern tip of Cuba, and proclaimed his determination to unseat Batista, he began to get press coverage normally reserved for the amphibious military operations of continental armies.

It seems clear, from the events of the past few days, that the Liberal press has irresponsibly exaggerated the breadth of Castro's popular support. It would not be the first time: a Liberal ideologue tends to impute dissatisfaction to a people who *should,* by Liberal standards, be dissatisfied: and it is all in the day's work for a reporter from the *New York Times* or the *Washington Post* or the *Louisville Courier-Journal* to "observe" revolutionary discontent in the people because their governors do not fashion their policies around the dispensations of Walter Lippmann. Castro, then, does not have anything like the support generally ascribed to him. We do not know just why: we do not have a Cuban correspondent.

What manner of man *is* Fidel Castro? We have read a dozen profiles on him, and we have no idea. Is he a Communist? We very much doubt it, although the Communists are of course attempting to exploit Castro's cause, and have established a beachhead in his camp. Is he an ideologue of any kind? Reporters have not relayed any such emphasis, in their dispatches; Castro's vague ideas about his intentions, his rather childish prescriptions for Cuba, do not have the tang of systematic ideology. Here, then, is a remarkable fact, that easily the most accessible hideaway in the history of hideaways, who is surely devoting as much time to the American press as to the revolution, remains a total enigma. The result is that a discerning judgment cannot be made as to what a Cuba bossed by Castro would look like.

What, then, should responsible Americans think about the Cuban situation? We offer the following position.

1. Fidel Castro is not, at this moment anyway, the voice of the Cuban people. It may be true that Batista is weak, but this does not mean that Castro is strong. Batista may be deposed by forces that have no relation to, or use for, Fidel Castro. Predicting the nature of a Castro regime is sheer speculation. But if Castro were to prevail, the Communists might find him pliable.

2. Fulgencio Batista is a despicable man. He has permitted his agents to bolster his regime by resort to torture of a fiendish kind, revealing a personal indifference to brutality that isolates him from civilized company. It is this single feature of his regime that compels the harsh judgment we make of him. We do not join the Liberals in opposing Batista because he does not rule by plebiscite. We reject the presumption that the packaged democracy of the League of Women Voters is the answer for every country, everywhere. In using force to maintain his regime in power, Batista does no more than the majority of the nations of the world do—in some cases because of a passion for power, in others because of a realistic understanding and abhorrence of alternatives. We do not despise Batista for using force against revolutionaries. We do not despise Salazar for using force to keep his highly benevolent regime in power. We do not criticize the English for having used force in an attempt to suppress the American Revolution. But torture transmutes force, as an instrument for maintaining power, into force, the instrument of the fiend, of the man whose use of such force disqualifies him to exercise power.

We wish the Liberals in our midst would react viscerally, not tendentiously, to torture. Eleanor Roosevelt and Joseph L. Rauh Jr., *et al.,* would not shake Batista's hand—not because he is a torturer, but because he is an anti-Communist dictator, and of a grubby little country they can afford to be snooty about. It is not the blood on his hands that they shrink from, for they would all, without exception, shake the hand of Tito, or Sukarno. Or Khrushchev. A conservative understands that much of Batista's way of doing things is organic to Cuban life, at this point in its development. And some of what he has done—his militant anti-Communism, for example—is objectively commendable.

But his brutality has made him indefensible.

Remaindered Reputation

We very much admire the publication of the Republican National Committee called "Straight from the Shoulder," which consists mostly of straight-from-the-shoulder answers to Democratic demagogy. We hope Mr. Eisenhower is not permitted to see it, as he would undoubtedly suppress it—befitting a President of *all* the people. The little four-page "journal of political fact" is a no-nonsense answer to the Democrats, with a bright editorial trim. The April issue is mostly devoted to a deadpan analysis of Mr. Truman's lurchings about through the china shop of history: *e.g.,*

Truman: "Until the Democrats have once more made the people prosperous, as we did from 1933 to 1953 . . ." Comment: "Even with years of wars, the Democrats created an average 9½ per cent unemployment each year for 20 years, the total in some years being near 25 per cent. Since 1953, unemployment has averaged 3.8 per cent and the high of 5 per cent in 1954 was less than that recorded in 11 of the 13 non-war years under the Democrats. In 1957, personal income was a recorded $343.5 billion, far higher than the Democrats managed even with war-boomed

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economies. Roosevelt's peacetime high was $78.7 billion. Truman's was $208.7 billion."

Truman: "Instead of making an expanding economy the goal of its domestic economy, it [the Eisenhower Administration] concentrated on high profits for the already bloated bond holders and high interest rates for the money lenders . . ." Comment: "Gross National Product in peacetime 1957 was $89.1 billion more than Truman generated at his wartime peak and was $220.9 billion more than Roosevelt's wartime peak. Interest payments as percentage of national income: 1939—6.3 per cent; 1957—3.6 per cent. Wages and salaries as percentage of national income: 1939—66.1 per cent; 1952—67.2 per cent; 1957—71.1 per cent.

Truman: "It was no trick at all for them [the Republicans] to shoot the cost of living into outer space . . ." Comment: From 1939 through 1952, the purchasing power of the dollar declined from 100 to 52 cents, an average yearly loss of four cents. In contrast, the decline in each of the five Republican years has averaged one-half cent."

And so it goes throughout the issue. And *then* a picture appears. A photograph of a bookstore window, piled high with copies of *Memoirs* by Harry S. Truman. And a display sign: "Extra Special! Truman's *Memoirs* (2 Vol. Set) Reg. $10.00—$1.98!" The only other titles sharing Mr. Truman's window are *The Power of Being a Positive Stinker, Let's Go to Bedlam,* and *How to Build Small Boats.*

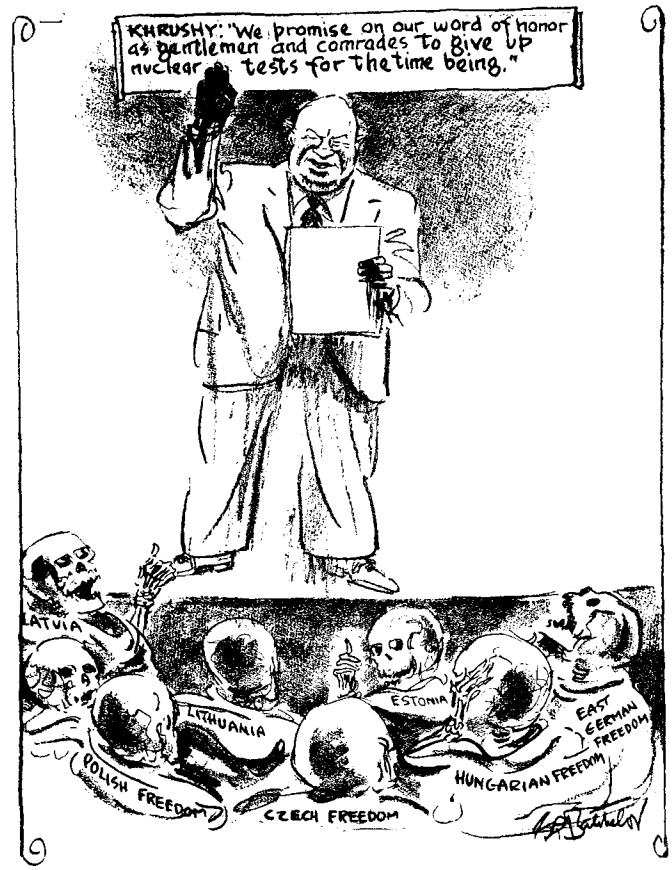
Keep Seated, Please

"The program began with the audience on its feet for a playing of the Star Spangled Banner and the Soviet national anthem by an American orchestra under a Russian conductor. . . . The implications of the occasion were enormous with regard to international relations."

—From the *New York Times* review of the opening night's performance, at the Metropolitan Opera House, of Moscow's Moiseyev Dance Company.

It's just too bad, really. People-to-people, getting to know one another, the universal human ideals of art and culture. . . . Yes, by all means, yes. And what a spiritually impoverishing business it is to debase these humane values to the soiled ends of politics!

But that's the way it is—and the way it's going to be until the ultimate value issue now facing mankind in the practical sphere is finally settled by the triumph or the defeat of world Communism. All the art and culture and people-to-people somehow get transformed into politics as soon as the footlights turn on. And what vicious, dangerous and damaging


KHRUSHY: "We promise on our word of honor as gentlemen and comrades to give up nuclear tests for the time being."
LATVIA
LITHUANIA
ESTONIA
EAST GERMAN FREEDOM
HUNGARIAN FREEDOM
POLISH FREEDOM
CZECH FREEDOM

politics for our side! An American audience, in America's premier auditorium, on its feet for the playing of the Soviet national anthem! For the anthem that celebrates the victories of the most frightful conspiracy in world history, the planned starvation of four million Ukrainian peasants, the slow murder of forty million slaves in Siberian labor camps, the massacre of fifteen thousand Polish officers in Katyn Forest and under the White Sea, the rape of the women of Eastern and Central Europe, the slaughter of Hungarian freedom fighters, the endless purges and lies and frameups? On its feet for *that* anthem?

How artful, by the way, to send the Moiseyev troupe, not the Bolshoi ballet, as the first institution-size cultural agent! The Moiseyev organization is conceived as an absolute totalitarian lie—the Hitlerian kind of Big Lie—about what for Moscow is the most crucial problem—"the national question." The Moiseyev theme is the free and joyous companionship of all the Communist peoples and nations. The native dances of Uzbeks, Kazaks, Byelorussians, Armenians, Georgians, Ukrainians, Tajiks, Mongols link happily in the repertory with the steps of the Russians. The footlights metamorphose the grim Soviet prison of nations into the smiling family of orthodox Bolshevik propaganda.

Let those Americans who find our position too finicky make one gesture, at least, of solidarity with the oppressed millions of the Soviet world. Let them

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stay seated when the orchestra plays the Soviet anthem.

Volunteer pickets should gird the Metropolitan, every night, reminding Americans how to behave.

A Friend in Deed

The odd but fateful Indonesian civil war, in which the pro-Soviet, Communist-allied Sukarno regime is matched against the anti-Communist, anti-Soviet Sumatra rebels, began overt operations two months ago. Since that time Moscow has done the following:

1. Proclaimed its unqualified support of Sukarno, and conducted a world-wide propaganda campaign on his behalf;

2. Opened up big credit lines on the Sukarno government's behalf;

3. Sent to Sukarno huge quantities of ammunition, guns, technicians, planes, pilots, jeeps, etc.

Washington, in the same period, has:

1. Proclaimed its complete neutrality in the struggle, and its rigid adherence to the principle of non-intervention;

2. Not only failed to advance credits to the Sumatra rebels, but declined to block the credit balances of the Sukarno government or to ask the private U.S. oil and rubber firms operating in Sumatra to suspend payments to Sukarno;

3. Sent nothing publicly, and nothing significant privately, to the anti-Communist rebels.

Query: if you were in a tough spot, would you, on the record, rather have Washington or Moscow in your corner?

No Silver Platter

We should like to be writing that the good people of the sovereign state of New Jersey rose up on April 15 in a tidal wave that swept Robert Morris to the senatorial line at the top of the New Jersey Republicans' November ticket. The truth is that most New Jersey conservatives, along with most New Jersey Liberals and leftists, did what most voters usually do on primary day: they stayed away from the polls in droves. The primary was therefore left in the hands of the regular party organizations, and with professional competence they turned in the result that was —on that basis—predictable.

Robert W. Kean, a twenty-year congressional veteran, won, with the huge plurality given him in his main base, Essex County. The newcomers—Morris and the archetypical Modern Republican and White House aide, Bernard Shanley—each carried the few counties where they had the backing of the regular organization, and lost.

Though the outcome is nothing for conservatives to cheer about, it is not a ground for unmixed gloom. Besides the major organization backing, Kean had the prestige and the seniority that American voters traditionally grant a man who has long represented them. Both he and Shanley had and used large sums of money. This was Morris' first appearance in New Jersey politics. He entered the campaign late, with no money and no apparatus; he had only those dedicated individual conservatives who gathered about him because they believe in him and what he stands for. He ended up with more than 20 per cent of the Republican vote in a state so delicately balanced that shifts of a few per cent decide elections.

This means that Morris, and the skeleton organization that grew up around him as the campaign progressed, can be, from now on, a power in New Jersey politics if they are ready to keep plugging, and if they use the next year not to weep over the initial defeat but to prepare for the next victory.

Notes and Asides

Mr. Leon Stolz, chief editorial writer of the *Chicago Tribune*, writes us (see page 407) that far from having been influenced by his son, a clerk to Justice X, to commit the *Tribune* in opposition to the Jenner Bill to curb the Supreme Court, he did not even talk the matter over with his son; he opposes the bill, says Mr. Stolz, for the reasons given in the editorial, period. We are both glad and sorry at the tidings. Glad because we are always happy to set the record straight, particularly where our friends are involved (we count Mr. Stolz a friend, though we have not met him); and sad because we would prefer to believe that the *Chicago Tribune's* opposition to so desirable a bill as Mr. Jenner's was based on a quirk of parental indulgence, rather than on carefully reasoned analysis. Be that as it may, we have sent a copy of Mr. Stolz's letter to the relevant "insiders."

NATIONAL REVIEW is encouraged by the enthusiasm which a number of serious persons have shown for a private investigation of Radio Free Europe. An informal meeting has already been held of a few prospective members of a committee, and discussion goes on. The enterprise is seriously hampered by the lack of funds to finance it, but it is not unlikely that money will be forthcoming. Meanwhile, exploratory work continues, and we shall report soon on its fruits. We take the opportunity, however, to remind our readers that NATIONAL REVIEW is a magazine, not an investigating agency, that NATIONAL REVIEW will cooperate in any reasonable way with the committee, but cannot staff it, nor do its work for it.

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NATIONAL TRENDS

L. BRENT BOZELL

Tiger in the White House

Do you intend, Mr. President, to fight for your ideas on defense reorganization?

"I am Commander-in-Chief for a fixed period . . . [therefore] my convictions, no matter how strong, cannot be the final answer. There must be a consensus reached with the cab—with the Congress, with the people that have the job of operating the services to get the very finest kind of organization we can; and I am certainly hopeful that it goes in the direction of what I believe; but I would be the last to ask for a detailed organization in which I believe . . . " January 15, 1958.

"I don't care how strong [opponents of my detailed proposals] are, or how numerous they are. Here is something for the United States. Here is something that is necessary . . . I don't care just who is against this thing. It just happens that I have got a little more experience in military organization and the directing of unified forces than anyone else on the active list." April 9, 1958.

The need to modernize the U. S. defense establishment did not grow perceptibly from January to April. Neither did General Eisenhower's experience as a military organizer. For that matter, the situation in April 1958 is basically the one that existed in January 1953 when General Eisenhower became President. What happened, early in April, was that the Defense Department had a predictably controversial reorganization plan ready to go, and recognized the need to activate what Willmoore Kendall once dubbed "the nation's chief mass communications medium." The word went up to the White House: turn out the tiger.

But it will take more than Presidential belligerency—synthetic or real—to put across the Pentagon plan. The trouble, as nearly every Congressman sees it, is that centralization of the military establishment tends to reduce congressional control over the establishment. The problem is inherent in any centralization plan, but let us examine it in terms of the Eisenhower proposal.

The President's major innovations would place all operational commands under the direct authority of the Secretary of Defense. The Army, Navy and Air Force components of our various fighting missions, that is to say, would operate under a single commander responsible only to Defense. *E.g.*: Should the President want to send the Sixth Fleet to the Eastern Mediterranean, the order would go to the Secretary of Defense, thence directly to the commander of the mission of which the Sixth Fleet is a part—thus eliminating the Secretary of the Navy and the Chief of Naval Operations from the chain of command. This is what has inflamed the services: that the military departments are slated to lose *command* of their own forces, to occupy themselves henceforth with "administrative, training and logistic functions."

The services would also be cut out at the planning level. At present, war plans originating with the Joint Staff are processed through Department committees before being presented to the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The Eisenhower plan would substitute an "integrated operations tradition" for the Department committees. The Administration will also ask Congress to remove the limit on the size of the Joint Staff, now restricted to 210 officers. All of this, of course, means more civilian administrators; the President, accordingly, would create four additional Assistant Secretaryships in the Defense Department. *Cf.* the Burnham Law: "Each new organizational change piles one more bureaucratic load on the creaking frame."

Moreover, all research and development activity would be transferred to Defense. For this purpose, a new "Director of Research and Engineering"; he, too, will need a large staff.

Finally, Eisenhower would take steps to make the Secretary of Defense the unquestioned master of his own house. Two of them are designed not only to keep the services in line, but Congress as well. The President hinted broadly, in his formal message, that he would like Congress to give the military establishment a lump-sum appropriation, and leave it to the Secretary of Defense to pass the money around. This proposal, however, has already drawn such heavy fire that it may not appear in the Pentagon draft bill. The other is an administrative step: with the idea of "stopping the services from vying with each other for congressional and public favor," the President will try to channel all liaison with Congress through a central office in the Defense Department.

These last items clearly suggest the central problem. Inter-service rivalries, overlapping missions, conflicting responsibilities: everyone agrees that these make for inefficiency in the military establishment. Yet it is precisely *tension within the establishment* that makes possible the small degree of control that Congress now exercises over the establishment. And every Congressman knows it. Information, not spoon-fed by the top bureaucracy, comes almost exclusively from dissident groups inside the Pentagon who, in the President's words, "are vying for congressional and public favor"; such information is now Congress' only basis for making a critical evaluation of defense operations. It is a grave dilemma for Congressmen.

Thus it is not the "Prussian" aspect of the General Staff idea that worries Congress. The Eisenhower Plan would not create a military junta, without civilian control; but it might create a civilian junta, without congressional control.

These reservations are not the kind to be dispelled by Presidential assertions of expertise. The basic need—involving a complete overhaul of bureaucratic attitudes—is for the Executive Branch to take Congress into its counsels at the policy-making level. Should somebody, with a legendary talent for statesmanship, decide to let Congress in on the ground floor—as a permanent tenant—current objections to streamlining Defense's upper echelons would quickly disappear.

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Red China Loses a Round

A blow-by-blow account of a Red Chinese attempt to win *de facto* Japanese recognition—and the power to blackmail Tokyo through trade

RODNEY GILBERT

For several years past Red China has fairly swarmed with feverishly active Japanese visitors. A good many have been deputations of radicals and near-Communists, there by invitation and at Peiping's expense. But the majority have been businessmen diligently seeking opportunities for trade. About a year ago, when Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi made a speech in the Diet reiterating his firm opposition to Japan's recognition of Red China, Chou En-lai's public reaction was angry. He remarked that there were at that moment Japanese snoopers after trade in no fewer than forty communities on the mainland, and that it was about time they were all thrown out.

Those Japanese businessmen who hungered for Red Chinese trade were also furious with Kishi. They decided that it was time to gang up on him. Three big organizations were formed to campaign for a relaxation of restrictions on trade with Peiping, and a few months ago they united to demand Kishi's permission to send a joint trade delegation to Mao's capital. Kishi now admits that he gave such permission, but he probably wishes he had not. For this joint delegation came back last month with a signed agreement, needing nothing but the Japanese government's official approval, which has turned Free China into a hornet's nest and is subjected to bitter though less vociferous criticism by powerful Japanese groups. Briefly, the developments have been these.

On March 5 the Japanese commercial agents in Peiping got the agreement from Red China: A few days later they were back in Tokyo, hopefully submitting the deal to Premier Kishi. The total volume of trade envisaged is uncertain; this writer has seen three widely varying figures quoted, the highest being U.S. $95,000,000. But the conditions to which the Japanese government must agree are the real bone of contention between Taipei and Tokyo. Red China is to be permitted to establish in Japan residential trade missions which are to have the right to fly the five-star flag of the "Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China." Customs proceedings are to be relaxed—to what degree is not clear. Fingerprinting of the members of the trade missions is not to be required—a special dispensation usually enjoyed by members of diplomatic missions. Money transactions involved are to go through the Bank of China (official) and the Bank of Japan, an organ of the Japanese government.

Free China's Protest

Rumors of those terms quickly reached Formosa; but it was not until March 12 that the details, as given above, were known to officialdom there. The reaction was stormy, for it was assumed, and probably rightly, that the publication of these terms in Japan meant that Kishi and his Cabinet were prepared to approve the deal. Negotiators for Japan and Free China were at that time in the throes of annual trade negotiations. These were promptly broken off and the Japanese negotiators were told that they would not be resumed until Taipei received a formal assurance that the trade pact with Red China would not be approved.

This was followed by a government order to Chinese firms to suspend all contracts with Japanese firms for the receipt or delivery of goods. From March 13 on, the Taipei press stormed, demanding a popular boycott of all Japanese retail business. This was echoed in the Legislative Yuan (parliament). President Chiang Kai-shek wrote a formal note to Premier Kishi asking for a "clarification" of the terms of the trade agreement with Red China and an assurance that no such terms would be approved by the Japanese government.

The Japanese Ambassador to Free China, Kensuke Horinouchi, was in Japan when this storm broke. He was due to return to Taipei March 18, but was held back to be the bearer of Premier Kishi's reply to President Chiang. From the time the Taipei agitation started, the U.S. ambassadors in both Taipei and Tokyo were reportedly hot-footing it daily and sometimes oftener to the two Foreign Affairs Ministries to convey Washington's exhortations to speak softly and hasten slowly. Dr. Hollington K. Tong, Free China's Ambassador to the U.S., who arrived in Taipei for consultations on March 26, was quoted as saying that the U.S. government's attitude toward the terms of the trade agreement was the same as the Chinese; but whether the U.S. Ambassador to Japan was voicing official objections to Kishi is not known, for the State Department has been singularly quiet about this affair.

For two weeks the Japanese press had no reports on what Kishi and his colleagues were thinking. But Kishi did speak for publication on March 25, saying that Japan could not approve the flying of the Communist flag over the premises of a trade mission from Peiping. But under the same dateline Foreign Minister Aiichiro Fujiyama was quoted as saying that Japan would not break off trade relations with Communist China, and that if changes were made in the terms of the proposed agreement, they would be slight. Chinese Foreign Minister George K. C. Yeh promptly announced that what Kishi and others were saying about the deal was far from satisfactory.

On March 27, Kishi repeated what he had said two days before. The Japanese government, he was quoted

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as saying, "could not recognize the right" of the Communists to fly their flag in Japan. The question that immediately arose in the Chinese mind, because of a remark by the Minister of Justice on the same occasion, was: "What would Kishi do if the Reds *did* fly their flag?" For Justice Minister Karasawa had said that, if the Communists were permitted to fly their flag, the government would use all possible measures to protect it.

On March 30, Ambassador Horinouchi finally returned to Taipei with Premier Kishi's reply to President Chiang, and the next day was closeted in a long session with him. Present also were Foreign Minister George K. C. Yeh and Mr. Chang Chun, secretary general to the presidential establishment and Free China's top authority on Japanese affairs. The following day, April 1, Foreign Minister Yeh told the press that they had not found Premier Kishi's letter of clarification at all satisfactory.

Effect on U. S.

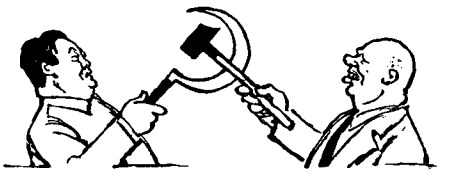
Now, however this affair may end, what is at stake? Is it all much ado about "face"? As it happened, Secretary Dulles and his entourage of Far Eastern experts stopped over in Taipei on their way home from Manila, just as the Chinese were getting worked up about this trade agreement; and it would be a safe bet that none of them looks upon the issue as one to which this country can afford to be indifferent. A serious falling out between Japan and Free China would greatly weaken our defense perimeter of island chains in the Far Pacific and would be something for Khrushchev, Mao and Company to chortle over. Washington cannot complacently envisage either a further infiltration of Japan by Chinese Communists, who have too much influence there now for our peace of mind, or a Red Chinese grip on Japanese commerce and industry, and thence indirectly on policy. It is fairly certain that Premier Kishi and his colleagues are well aware of this. So a Japanese official approval of the trade agreement would look like a gesture of defiance of American opinion. If that is the mood in Tokyo—where Foreign Minister Fujiyama recently stated publicly that if the United States were to support the Indonesian rebels Japan would, of course, support Sukarno's regime—we are losing ground on our first line of Pacific defense.

To the Free Chinese the terms of the trade agreement are tantamount to covert *de facto* recognition and, should they go unchallenged, would soon lead to open *de facto* recognition. Then Japan would be launched upon a "two-China" policy; and with that kind of farce Free China will have nothing to do. How Japan will be forced to move on from covert to open recognition, the Japanese who are hostile to the trade agreement are ready and eager to explain.

It must be understood that in Japan there are several big anti-Communist and pro-Formosa organizations whose leaders are politically powerful. It must also be understood that some of the biggest industrial, shipping and banking figures, particularly in Osaka, have been preaching against the hysterical clamor for freer trade with Red China. Most outspoken are the biggest of the shipbuilding firms—and shipbuilding is the field in which Japan has staged its most remarkable comeback since the war. These are their arguments:

Red China has very little of anything that it does not badly need at home—except possibly some hog bristles, tung oil and a lot of opium, morphine and heroin, of which Japan has already seen too much. Therefore, Red China's sole interest in trade is political. By denying its own people and its limping industries what they grievously need, it can offer Japan very seductive terms and prices. When enough Japanese industries are sufficiently dependent on this profitable trade to be in a bad way if it is cut off, Red China will be in a position to use trade as an instrument of blackmail, threatening Japanese businessmen with ruin if Japan does not adopt a conciliatory line towards the Red regime.

Meanwhile, think of the use that will be made of those trade missions for subversive purposes!



Postscript

Since this article went into type there have been important developments. On April 5 the Kyodo agency had a report from a correspondent in Red China saying that if Red China could not fly its flag at a proposed trade fair in Japan, there would be no fair. On April 9, Premier Kishi gave out a statement, approving the trade pact and promising it government "support and cooperation," without mentioning the flag-flying or other semi-diplomatic privileges that the trade mission was to enjoy under the pact. And then, amazingly enough, the press in Taipei was informed that Free China was satisfied with the Japanese position and withdrew its objections. How Free China's government was "satisfied," after all the vociferation and wrangling, was not explained. But perhaps the key to this mystifying situation was to be found in a *New York Times* correspondent's report that Japan had indicated that, if the flag were flown, and if anti-Communist elements tore it down, the Japanese authorities would not be greatly put out.

Be that as it may, the terms of Premier Kishi's approval were promptly and abusively rejected by Peiping, which coupled its announcement, on April 12, with accusations that the Japanese government, in collusion with the United States and Free China, had deliberately sabotaged the agreement. Premier Kishi, said a Peiping broadcast reported in the *New York Times* on April 13, had stated that "Communist China would have no right to raise any claim in the event that a Communist flag flying over a Communist trade mission in Tokyo should be attacked and destroyed." And this position, said the broadcast, "of equating the Chinese flag with ordinary property" was a gross insult to Red China. Whereupon the Secretary of the Japanese Cabinet announced that if Red China was not satisfied with Japan's refusal to recognize the flying of the Red flag, nothing remained but to cancel the agreement.

All of which appears to prove that Peiping's primary interest is not Japanese trade but Japanese diplomatic recognition of the Red "People's Republic"—and the resultant break between Japan and Formosa.

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from HERE *to* THERE

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Free Farmers Not Wanted

Ezra Taft Benson, the embattled Secretary of Agriculture who shares certain common ancestors with the late Bob Taft, has been one of the more notable friends of freedom in the Eisenhower Administration. Day in and day out, to the frequent accompaniment of jeers from the unfeeling, he has labored mightily to take the American farmer from the "here" of quasi-socialism to the "there" of a truly free society. Speaking generally, he certainly deserves the accolade of this column for his courageous attempt to practice a "Fabianism in reverse" as applied to farm price supports.

With the top man in American agriculture visibly committed to a return to freedom on the farm, you might suppose that any lowly, down-the-line farmer who insisted on taking his own chances in the open market would be allowed to go his way. True, if a man signs up for a quota or acreage allotment, it is only reasonable to ask that he accept a penalty if he oversteps the line. But if a farmer wants to get along without any help from the government, you might suppose that the lesser bureaucrats in Benson's sprawling organization would wink at certain technical infractions of some palpably unconstitutional law.

Such is not the case, however. If a Florida farmer refuses to sign a crop acreage report for the U.S. Department of Agriculture he is clapped into jail. In Mississippi, on the other hand, the State Penitentiary collected $71,000 recently for not growing cotton on 1,000 acres.

The worst misapplication of "justice" during the Benson regime is probably to be found in the so-called Haley case, which is scheduled to get a court test in Dallas, Texas, some time this May. Just what is the Haley case, and how did it ever happen to develop under the relatively decent USDA of Ezra Taft Benson? The story goes back to 1952, when Evetts Haley Jr., a twenty-year-old Texan, quit school to run a farm and cattle ranch in Oklahoma, on some rich Arkansas River bottom land which he owned jointly with his father.

If young Evetts Haley had been content to fatten his cattle on ordinary grass feeds, he would never have found himself in trouble. Unfortunately, to compensate for deficiencies in a drought-stricken hay crop, he sowed a portion of his land down near the river in wheat. For several years he used his wheat acres for winter pasturage, occasionally marketing the leftover in his granary for cash. The practice worked without question until 1956. Then, one fine spring day, he loaded up some of his excess wheat and took it off to town to raise some needed money. He had recently been married, and his wife was expecting a baby; the young couple had to have cash.

When he got to the grain elevator, however, Haley found he couldn't get rid of his wheat. The elevator owner said he couldn't take it unless Haley could show him a marketing quota card. At the local USDA office Haley was brusquely informed that he couldn't have a card until he had paid a "penalty" on forty-three acres of "excess planting." The fine for the "excess" was computed at $506.11. Since Haley had not put his name to any contract with the government to accept an acreage limitation, and since he had not taken any benefits under any farm relief act, he considered the penalty to be wholly illegal. Accordingly, he took his wheat home and subsequently fed it to his cows.

Still needing cash for his wife and baby, Haley was finally driven to taking a job in Dallas. He hated to leave the farm; after all, he had been raised in West Texas "to know what a cow was thinking," and ranching was in his blood. He was not a wheat man, he was a cow man—and cattle ranchers of Haley's independent stripe are used to getting along without government favors. He could have paid the "fine" and presumably recouped some of his loss by applying to the government for drought relief. But he was damned if he would.

Ever since November 1956 the Agriculture Stabilization and Conservation Committee of Stillwater, Oklahoma, has been hounding Haley for the money. In 1957 the assistant United States District Attorney for the Northern District of Texas served him with formal notice that suit would be filed if he did not pay.

Haley, whose father was a candidate for Governor of Texas in 1956, is welcoming a court trial of his case. As he sees it, the government's activities in trying to force the Wheat Marketing Quota Law on citizens who accept no subsidies and agree to no quota limitations is in violation of the rights of the individual as guaranteed by the Fourth, Fifth, Ninth and Tenth Amendments of the Constitution. Says Haley, "My government made me no loans and delivered me no goods or services. My government is not trying to collect from me something that I owe, but is rather imposing on me a penalty because I tried to live and work as a free man. I am not refusing to pay merely because of the pain of parting with $560.11 which I do not have. I refuse to pay because I think it is wrong, and because I have a son and am, therefore, tenderly concerned about the future of America. If my son does not inherit freedom, anything else that he may inherit will be worthless."

Haley has no resources with which to fight his case. Nevertheless, he is fighting it. His attorneys, William F. Billings and James P. Donovan of Dallas, and Ernest L. Clulow Jr., of Tulsa, Oklahoma, are carrying on for him, and trusting that enough donations to cover expenses will ultimately be paid in to a Wheat Penalty Defense Fund, Mrs. Virginia Erwin, secretary-treasurer, care of Evetts Haley Jr., Box 239, Canyon, Texas.

Since Haley's wheat never got into interstate commerce, and since he did not diminish or destroy the fertility of his land by planting it and violated no contract with the government in trying to sell it, it is difficult to see on what grounds a court can rule against him. As for Ezra Benson, he must know in his heart that Haley deserves to win.

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Letter from the Continent

E. v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

The German Debate on Nuclear Weapons

The European limbo of peace and quiet to which I referred in an earlier dispatch [NATIONAL REVIEW, March 15] has been jolted by the most prosperous and self-satisfied among the large Continental nations—Germany. In order to understand what has happened we must remember that ever since the German Left was so conclusively licked last year by Adenauer's C.D.U., it has been seeking a good slogan which might help it attract votes. Material for such a drive was furnished to the Left by the government's most dynamic member—stocky Bavarian Franz Josef Strauss, Minister of Defense, who recently visited the United States. He decreed (naturally with the O. K. of everybody from Adenauer himself to the NATO leaders) that the German Army be equipped with nuclear weapons. As a result the entire German Left, consisting of the Social Democrats, the pseudo-liberal F. D. P. (*Freie Demokratische Partei*), the left wing of the Evangelical Church, the even tinier Leftish Catholic Ghetto, and part of the press "without party affiliations," rose in horror and fury. Excitement of this sort, culminating in a heated debate of several days duration in the Bundestag, has not been known in Germany since 1945.

This event showed up certain weaknesses in the fabric of Western Germany. It proved that the Left, though bereft of its genuine ideological strength (who could still believe in either Marxist Socialism, Dialectical Materialism, or the sacred tenets of "Paleo-Liberalism"?), can still cause havoc even on an issue which lacks logical consistency. The battle cry of the various committees of prominent people who signed manifestoes against nuclear armament, is: "WAR AGAINST ATOMIC DEATH!" If one listens to their argument it appears that "atomic death" depends upon the *Bundeswehr's* possession of atomic weapons. The government has explained that the Federal Army's rejection of atomic armament would by no means insure the German population against "atomic death." On the contrary: if Western Germany could not retaliate, the temptation to bomb it off the map would be greater rather than less.

The whole discussion appears even sillier in the light of the fact that the American Army in Germany has had atomic arms for years and has proudly displayed them to the German public. No protests, except from strictly Communist quarters, have ever been voiced.

Soviet-German propaganda against Western Germany's atomic weapons has been equally hysterical: in every possible way it has supported the various forms of protest by the West German Left. Anyone who has observed the German Leftists' constant and nervous efforts to draw a line of demarcation between themselves and the Communists proper can imagine their discomfort—and the naiveté of the men in Pankow who believe that their aid and comfort can be of any practical value to their cousins (I didn't say brothers) in the Federal Republic. The close identity of these two forms of "anti-atomic" propaganda will inevitably be exploited by the C.D.U.

The Mirage of "Reunion"

The Left is also contending that atomic armament will further destroy the chances of German reunion. Here, of course, is where Adenauer's policy is vulnerable. He cannot openly acknowledge the fact, known to every intelligent citizen (one in a hundred? one in a thousand?), that *under the present circumstances* there is not a dog's chance for reunion. The few bright Socialists must realize this, and they surely suspect that the Adenauer Cabinet knows it too. So they cynically accuse Adenauer of being cynical, of "having given up hope," and of "betraying the 17 million Germans east of the Werra," while they themselves, knowing that the case is at present hopeless—except at the price of the Bolshevization of all Germany—pretend publicly that reunion could be had any day for the asking. None of the big parties dares tell the truth because it might conceivably demoralize the Germans in the Soviet Zone and because it would inevitably be cited as proof of a "defeatist" outlook. The masses may have a certain sense of politics, but they have no realization of historical situations or developments. The men in the Kremlin have not the slightest reason to relinquish their finest reservoir of skilled manpower and their westernmost position (83 miles from the Rhine!). Moreover, they could not morally afford to leave their quislings at the mercy of the local population. The massacre of these men by a populace lusting for revenge after years of oppression and torture would cause endless repercussions throughout the Soviet orbit.

Thus the mirage of "reunion" is the Great German Dishonesty which poisons the entire internal political atmosphere of the nation. Lies, needless to say, beget new lies. And certain political lies cannot be abandoned without a total loss of face.

Socialists not Democrats

There are two other interesting aspects of the present internal German debate. First the menacing interview given by Ollenhauer, the Socialist leader, in which he talked about mobilizing the "street" against the duly elected German government. This shows once again how few Europeans really believe in democracy—least of all the Socialists, though they sport, in Germany, the curious name "Social Democrats." But the big labor federation, the DGB, called upon to proclaim a political strike, suddenly got cold feet and recoiled in fright at the specter of the end of democracy.

The second aspect is the political split among the Evangelical leaders. The pacifists, the leftists, the anti-Americans, and the rabid anti-Catholics find themselves, as was to be expected, in the same camp. This development is not new. It has merely assumed a more official character.

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Soviet Education: Myth and Fact

A timely warning of the danger to our spiritual values in uncritical acceptance of the myth of Soviet superiority in education

EUGENE LYONS

It is a wholesome thing that Americans, stung in their pride by the Sputniks, are taking a close and worried look at their educational theories. But it is unfortunate, indeed tragic, that the reappraisal should be coupled with uncritical eulogy of rock-ribbed totalitarian education in Communist Russia. In our mood of self-denigration, we tend to credit the Soviets with pedagogical wonders surpassing the Kremlin's own claims. We accept Soviet statistics at face value. We draw the picture without perspective and outside the frame of reality in a brutal police-state.

Take the assertion, so widely believed, that the Soviet Union has more engineers and scientists than the United States. Seven-year primary schooling, in theory universal and compulsory, was promulgated by Moscow in 1949. Even the four-year course that prevailed until then is not yet available to millions of children in remoter regions. It is illogical to suppose that, on this narrow educational base, the country could already have produced as many scientists and engineers as some of our excited publicists claim.

Part of the confusion is semantic. In Russian usage the word "engineer" often covers people whom we would describe as technicians or skilled mechanics. Also, most of those classed in Soviet records as "workers in science" have no more than a secondary education, but abroad the phrase is frequently translated as "scientists." The truth is that Soviet education, technology and science included, has not yet reached American levels either in quality or quantity.

When all discounts are made, of course, Soviet progress in training technical and scientific manpower is still immensely impressive. Geared to the single objective of maximum industrial and military vitality in the shortest time, it is more like a mobilization than an educational process. In an era when what remains of freedom on this earth is menaced by expanding Soviet might, this obviously is alarming. But it is no excuse for closing our eyes to the real nature of Soviet education.

We are living in a technological age. Even if the Soviets did not exist, we should still have to develop a lot more specialists to meet the demands of automation, research, communications, weapons. Without doubt we have been remiss in this area. But recognition of this fault is the beginning of wisdom, not the end.

The dangers of exaggeration and excess in judging Soviet education are threefold:

1. It operates to distort and falsify our over-all image of Soviet Russia, opening us to moral confusion and political intimidation. Any educational system must be understood and judged in relation to its entire social and intellectual setting.

2. It may induce us to copy Soviet methods in a know-nothing spirit, with too little awareness of their dehumanizing implications.

3. It may lead us to derogate and downgrade our own most important values and goals: those which, in the last analysis, may prove as decisive as military weapons in determining the outcome of the struggle between Communism and freedom.

Producing Half-Men

Of course we must move boldly to counter the physical threats posed by Soviet totalitarianism. At the same time, however, we must recognize that Communist education is a lopsided monstrosity, in that it develops one set of human faculties and condemns most other faculties to psychic and intellectual starvation. Its aim is not to produce whole men, but half-men with bulging scientific muscles for life in an abnormal society. Its masters dread imagination, creative initiative, discussion, experimentation. Their goal is not to free the mind but to contain it, to direct its powers into utilitarian channels.

The effects of this warped education are very much in evidence. As against striking achievements in a few limited technological areas, there is nearly complete sterility in the arts and a virtual blackout of the human spirit. Only in music, because it does not lend itself easily to ideological policing, has there been some evidence of the old Russian genius. The last quarter of a century, Dr. Isaiah Berlin wrote recently, has been "a long blank page in the history of Russian culture." Louis Fischer, on returning from a Soviet visit last year, reported that "intellectually the country is a desert."

Throughout history despots, contemptuous of the well-being and preferences of their subjects, have been able to reach dramatic limited objectives. The ancient Pharaohs built their pyramids. Hitler scored a lot of "firsts," sensational for their time, with Stukas and V-1's and V-2's. Life under the Pharaohs or under Hitler was not for that reason worthy of emulation by civilized societies.

Soviet education is inseparable from the odious police-state behind it. The millions of human beings "liquidated" and the millions still rotting in hideous concentration camps, the social system that denies elementary human rights and makes independent thinking a crime, the institutions of slave labor and thought control, the concept that men and women are just raw stuff for the building of state power—such things cannot and should not be left out of the total reckoning.

Communism is supposed to be, first of all, a superior economic system.

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Yet forty years after its imposition it is unable to provide such ordinary necessaries of life as pots and pans, bed linen, simple furniture and plumbing. The same Khrushchev who boasts of his moons and missiles wrote in the Moscow *Pravda* last August: "Our task now consists in giving our country, in the next years, an adequate supply of bread, meat, butter, milk and other articles of mass consumption." He promised that there would be enough housing for the population in ten years—the same promise the people have heard for four decades.

Children in Soviet schools, along with physics and arithmetic, are taught to hate the things we love. Their textbooks are crammed with lies—lies about the outside world and their own world, about the last war and the history of their own country. And even those pernicious textbooks are continually revised to bring them into line with shifting political weather, as yesterday's heroes are turned into villains or its villains into heroes. It is an education for the young that has no morality but obedience, no truth but the party line.

Science Itself Twisted

The notion that science is exempted from the censorships and distortions in other Soviet fields is largely a myth. Science, too, is often twisted out of shape to fit the superstitions of Marxism. It has no room, for insance, for Freudian psychology. For many years, until quite recently, the palpably false theory of genetics developed by Lysenko was the only one tolerated in teaching the subject. For a long time Einstein's theory of relativity was outlawed as un-Marxist.

Actually Communist Russia has produced next to nothing in original basic research. It has concentrated instead on elaborating and exploiting knowledge already available. Surely there must be something dreadfully wrong with education in a country that has sent scores of its most eminent historians, critics, philosophers, poets and even scientists to die slow deaths in prison camps.

Here is a fair test for those who stand today in worshipful awe before the reports of Soviet education: Would they consent to have their own children educated in Soviet Russia? To ask the question is, one hopes, to answer it.

A recent article in the *Atlantic,* by Prof. Richard Livingstone of Oxford, opens with this sentence: "The chief task of education is to make human beings, to develop aptitudes and attitudes necessary for successful living." And the American educator, Dr. John W. Studebaker, said in a recent lecture: "I believe we would all agree that the overriding purpose of all education should be the development of sound moral character."

By such tests, which we recognize at once as valid for our civilization, Soviet education—no matter how many Sputniks and Muttniks it tosses into the stratosphere—hardly deserves the name. The man who knows the entrails of a machine or of an atom, *but little else,* can be called educated only by stretching the meaning of the word.

The over-all contest between the two worlds will not be decided by weapons alone. It will also be decided—is, in fact, now in the process of being decided—by ideas and ideals, by the hunger of individual man for dignity, freedom and happiness.

If our supremacy in technology has been opened to doubt, our supremacy in the realm of the human spirit is beyond question. We still have a clear advantage in human values, in spiritual insights, in political liberty and creative freedom. It is an advantage that weighs heavy in the scales of mankind's destiny.

Certainly the Kremlin bosses are aware of the threat to their dominion inherent in these Western values. They know that they have not succeeded in producing their vaunted "Soviet man," that the people in their prison-lands have not reconciled themselves to being technological robots. That is why they are so determined to jam Western broadcasts, to exclude our books and magazines, to punish any contact by their subjects with Western ideas.

Fortunately man's yearning for freedom, individual status and self-expression is too deep to be crushed by any police-state. No matter how hard the masters try to prevent it, many people even under Soviet education do learn to think. The mind sharpened in the discipline of science cannot be wholly debarred from asking questions in other areas of life. Thus in the very process of fortifying the omnipotent state, the mental dynamite is being piled up that may one day destroy it. In the perspective of time, the most important Soviet events of the last year or two may well be not the launching of Sputniks but the evidences of ferment among students, intellectuals and artists.

Russia's Pre-Soviet Culture

One reason why the world has been caught off balance by Soviet achievements in industry and science is that it has a strangely distorted conception of the old, pre-1917 Russia. In 1912-13, the last full economic year before World War I, Russian industrial output increased by over 19 per cent, which compares favorably with the average annual increase claimed for all the Soviet Five-Year Plans. For a century before the advent of Communism, Russia had taken justified pride in its universities.

The old Russia was neither an industrial nor an intellectual Sahara. It was especially strong in theoretical research, mathematics and physics. But at the same time it had to its credit great accomplishments in letters, the arts, philosophy and other humanist fields—accomplishments which have become part of the treasures of all mankind.

This was the national culture that the Communists expropriated and, except in technology, have ruined. In every discipline that thrives on the inquiring mind or the free creative personality, Soviet education has brought only blight and darkness.

There is, of course, much truth in the statement that the first line of defense of free nations today is in the laboratory and the classroom. But it is not the whole truth. We must preserve, in essence, our kind of classroom for our kind of world. We must hold on to the values which are, in the ultimate analysis, the foundation stones of our strength. Let us not be panicked by the spectacular accomplishments of a slave state into embracing the standards of slavery, in education or any other department of our lives.

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Letter from London

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

Playing the Game with the Labor Party

I've said it before and regretfully I say it again: the dismal subject of economics is vital not only to our domestic political conflicts but to the international conflict as well. A full-scale American slump would be about as serious a blow as the free world could suffer; hardly less serious would be the collapse of the British economy and complete loss of faith in sterling.

The two latest moves on the British economic front came rather dangerously together. On the one hand, after six months at the crisis level of 7 per cent, the bank rate has now been reduced by a full point to 6 per cent. This reflects an improvement in the foreign exchange position—speculation against the pound has been checked, the gold and dollar reserves have risen—and is intended to give a fillip to the tightly restrained economy. But the danger of inflation has not passed.

The other new move has been the flat rejection by the railwaymen and the London busmen of the modest wage increases recommended by the Industrial Court. The wording of the resolution passed at a meeting of delegates of the National Union of Railwaymen is significant:

> In view of the Government's attitude to wage increases and the report of the Cohen Committee, we have no illusions about the task in hand. . . . We therefore call on the National Executive, in the event of a rejection of the claim or no substantial increase coming from the Railway Staff National Tribunal, to take immediate steps for the withdrawal of labor on a national scale.

Fighting words, and their tone is frankly political. The railwaymen are fighting a Conservative Government rather than their immediate bosses. This ought to surprise no one: the constitution of the NUR specifically provides that one of the union's objects shall be the overthrow of capitalism and its replacement by a Socialist order.

The British trade unions and the British Labor Party are so closely linked that every labor dispute becomes a Party political issue, and every political dispute is taken as a legitimate concern of the trade union movement. This is one reason why a Conservative Government is so hard put to it to keep the economy on an even keel.

But even the unions are only a small part of the difficulty. The real problem goes deeper. There is a fundamental inconsistency, indeed some might say a towering folly, in our whole political-economic theory. This theory rests on the assumption that Britain is governed alternately by two parties, both of which want to make the system work, differing from one another in methods and personalities but not in ends. This is no longer true. The Labor Party rejects the role of "a respectable alternative Government." It doesn't want to make the system work: it wants to destroy the system.

This leaves the Party in a position of destructive power whether in or out of office. The strength of sterling depends on the world's belief in the strength of sterling. The Labor Party is the avowed enemy of capitalism and all that goes with a free economy. Therefore the mere possibility of a Labor Government frightens foreign capitalists, weakens sterling and makes the whole economic process more difficult to operate. At the moment, for instance, the steel industry is finding it almost impossible to raise much-needed new capital because nobody wants to invest in an industry which the Labor Party has sworn to renationalize.

The ineradicable Socialist hostility to all forms of capitalist activity is the real explanation of what might otherwise seem mere willful blindness: the Labor Party's reaction to the reports of the Cohen Council and the Bank Rate tribunal. These reports were all by all normal standards beyond reproach or question, impartial conclusions carefully reached by men of the highest integrity and intelligence. And yet the Labor Party brushed them aside without a minute's thought. The Bank Rate tribunal might have acquitted various individuals of breach of confidence, but it couldn't acquit them of capitalist activities; it might have shown that the City acted honestly but it inevitably showed the City engaged in buying and selling, making and losing money in the shameful pursuit of private gain. Therefore in Socialist eyes the report amounted to a conviction.

Similarly, the report of the Cohen Council declares certain measures necessary if a free and flexible economic system is to work efficiently; and thereby damns itself. For the Socialists want controls and a planned economy.

Mr. Gaitskell has kept clear of the most blatant attacks on private enterprise. As a potential Prime Minister, he has to face two considerable dangers. "The First," said the *Economist* recently, "is that the advent of a Labor Government or even the prospect of it, may cause the pound to collapse for lack of confidence in the world's markets where the pound's worth is judged—which would be a calamity for the nation as well as for Labor. The second, and political, danger Mr. Gaitskell has to face is that, simply because of this likelihood, the nation may be persuaded not to risk giving his party a majority."

Mr. Gaitskell would do well to worry about the first danger. If the trade unions make it difficult for a Conservative Government to halt inflation, they might well make it impossible for a Labor Government. After all, the unions provide the money on which the Labor Party lives.

Each new by-election seems to show that Mr. Gaitskell has much less reason to worry about the second danger. Difficult concepts like the value of sterling cut little ice at the polls. As for the free and flexible economy, it seems to be only a minority who really care for that.

And, of course, there are always a few whose one object is to wreck the economy. Perhaps the week's most startling piece of news is that the Labor-controlled St. Pancras local council has decided to declare a holiday on May Day and to fly the red flag from the town hall.

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Principles and Heresies

FRANK S. MEYER

The Concept of Fortress America

Back in the thirties, those Americans who understood that the threat to the United States and to Western values from Soviet Communism was of the same order as the threat from Nazi fascism, were vilified as narrow and backward hillbillies (sometimes) or as pro-fascists (usually), because they refused to go along with a "crusade" against the one evil, so conceived that it could only lead to the aggrandizement of the other evil. Those who held this position were labeled "isolationists." Their clear grasp of the realities of world politics was deliberately and successfully obscured by identification with other positions hostile to the foreign policies adopted by the Roosevelt Administration—positions motivated by pacifism, isolationism in the true sense, Anglophobia, and a dozen other considerations.

One result of the bitter struggle of that time has been that labels and attitudes that have no relationship to the realities of today are carried over to confuse discussion and decision in the very different circumstances in which we are now living. The true issue never was "intervention" or "isolation"; but in the thirties these labels did serve as a rough description of the practical alternatives: either to direct our policy towards the total defeat of Nazism without consideration of the parallel threat of Communism, or to direct our policy towards bringing about a situation where Hitler and Stalin would destroy each other.

Today we have no such choice. The single remaining totalitarianism has no enemy of its own kind; and in its determination to wipe out the values of Western civilization and conquer the world, it has no obstacle in its path but the power of the United States. Likewise, technological developments have shrunken our oceans strategically to the dimensions of the English Channel of 1939.

"Isolationism" and interventionism" as they were conceived at that time have no meaning. There are no international struggles from which we can isolate ourselves; there is only the struggle between the Soviet Union and us. There are no struggles in which we can "intervene"; it is ridiculous to talk of "intervening" in a struggle to which one is already a party.

Nevertheless, the old labels and concepts, hanging over, direct attention away from the crucial issues. Any effort to scrutinize the expenditure of Amerian energy in men and money in any corner of the globe, from the point of view of its relevance to American national interests in the world struggle, is attacked as "neo-isolationism." By a feat of prestidigitation, based on this manipulation of old labels, opponents of one-worldism, of the United Nations, of cultural exchange, of "summit meetings," are condemned as isolationists blind to the Soviet menace.

A Clarification

So likewise, when in a recent column, "Dilemmas of Foreign Policy" (NATIONAL REVIEW, March 29), I attempted to cut away some of the confusions obscuring the current discussion of American foreign policy, and put forward what seem to me the alternative policies morally and practically available to us, my effort to justify an adaptation of the concept of Fortress America as one of these possible alternatives seems to some degree to have been understood in terms of these older categories.

Reiterating what I have previously written, let me make myself absolutely clear. There can be only one moral strategic and political aim for the United States as champion of Western civilization: the destruction of the power base of Communism, the Soviet Union. The direct and obvious way to achieve that is an immediate series of ultimata, each one backed by force, "until finally we destroy by ultimatum or by force the very center of the Communist power." If, however, we think that (because of the threat that full-scale nuclear warfare may pose to the very survival of the human race) the duty to defend the values of the West by the destruction of Communism is partially counterbalanced by a duty not ourselves directly to take the responsibility of acts that would make such an all-out war an overwhelming probability, then some variant of the concept of Fortress America—of an area which we will defend *à outrance* —becomes the only alternative. We either set our course towards liberating the peoples enslaved by Communism—which means a policy of aggressive attack—or we decide what territory still free we will defend, at whatever risk, because it is vital to the preservation of the values for which we stand.

It can be argued what should be included in this area—the United States alone, the American Continent, the European areas bordering the Atlantic, our allies on the Pacific islands. But these limits will depend upon moral and spiritual considerations, not strategical ones. With current military technology, the continental United States and our naval forces can supply bases for our decisive weapons. Whatever the boundaries, it will still be Fortress America —not a "league," an "alliance," a "community," but an area brought within an extension of the American ramparts.

Such a policy as this is not one of appeasement or surrender. It is a marking out of the lines from which we will fight, not with protests, or with UN debates or with "little wars," but with all-out attack upon the Soviet Union. It is only superficially opposed to the policy of attack and liberation. Neither policy is "interventionist" or "isolationist." Both have at their core a common understanding of the character of the enemy. They differ only in their judgment as to what is morally permissible in the way of means for those who are morally bound to destroy him. Their common slogan is that of the Roman patriot: *"Carthago delenda est"*—not coexistence, but eternal and implacable hostility.

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

Knox College and Fraternities

Several months ago, I published in these pages two articles on the campaign against fraternities. These pieces brought me a deluge of interesting letters. I haven't yet contrived to answer them all, but eventually I shall reply to all my correspondents; and from time to time, I may devote "From the Academy" to discussion of the questions they have raised.

One of the more significant cases of fraternity-trouble called to my attention is that of Knox College, in Illinois. This is an old liberal-arts college of good reputation. Several national fraternities have chapters there. Like those of all national fraternities, their national charters or traditions contain prohibitions against the initiation of Negroes. In 1953, the faculty of Knox expelled from the college Beta Triton Chapter of Phi Sigma Kappa fraternity, because that house refused to admit to membership a Negro, a Mr. Hall.

I cannot enter here into the general question whether fraternities ought to refuse to admit Negroes, or Chinese, or Jews, or Catholics, or Communists, or bimetallists, or bigamists. I am concerned just now simply with the propriety of a university's or college's control over fraternity membership. In general, my view is that college administrations ought to follow as nearly as possible the rule which the government is compelled to follow in its control over voluntary associations; and this is summarized in a standard legal work of reference, *American Jurisprudence: Associations and Clubs:*

> Membership in a voluntary association is a privilege which may be accorded or withheld, and not a right which can be gained independently and enforced. The courts cannot compel the admission of an individual into such association, and if his application is refused, he is entirely without remedy, no matter how arbitrary or unjust may be his exclusion.

What the courts of the land cannot do, I do not think the colleges ought to attempt. It is true that the colleges must exert some discipline over fraternity-chapters. But this discipline has its limits. Students, including fraternity-members, are not the property, or the employees, of the university or college. Their relationship to the college is contractual, not monastic. Fraternity houses, at most colleges, are not the property of the colleges or else are held on long leases from the colleges. The jurisdiction of college administrations over fraternity chapters, in short, is by no means identical with their jurisdiction over ordinary dormitories.

And while the college has some responsibility for ensuring decent conduct in fraternity houses, it has neither the duty nor the right to impose upon fraternities some set of sociological doctrines which may be unwelcome to the fraternity, the community, and the country at large—no matter how "progressive" these doctrines are alleged to be. The fraternity is not a laboratory for the experiments of academic social reformers; it is not an annex of the department of sociology, or of the school of religion. It is simply a private club, a place of residence, with nearly all the rights and privileges of private associations and homes.

From a goodly number of documents and letters concerned with the Knox College case, it appears to me that the faculty of Knox—or, at least, a faction which succeeded in expelling the local chapter of Phi Sigma Kappa—acted out of doctrinaire notions of social reform, to be imposed speedily upon fraternities and students in general without much concern for the opinions of students, college alumni and trustees, or the general public. The general assumption of this faculty group appears to have been that our society ought to be completely egalitarian, homogeneous, and uniform. I do not propose to enter here into the merits of this doctrine; I merely point out that it never has been the consensus of opinion of the American nation.

The impulse behind the expulsion of the chapter seems to have come from a faculty group called "The Seminar on Religious and Democratic Values," and referred to by some Knox folk as "The Jesus and Jefferson Committee." A member of this egalitarian association, a Mr. Dibden, declared that action against discrimination in fraternities had "a justification which might be called the justification of livingness." Confronted by some suggestions that there *are* differences between persons and groups, Mr. Dibden replied that "democratic theories should be based on ideals and not on facts." This attitude seems to have been representative of the Jesus and Jefferson Committee.

When Beta Triton chapter declined to admit a Negro candidate to membership, this faculty group was quick to obtain its expulsion, although at first the trustees of Knox opposed such action. There appears to have been little inquiry into *why* Mr. Hall was rejected. At least one negative vote, it appears, was cast not because of any racial prejudice, but simply because the fraternity-member felt that he would not be a congenial fraternity-brother, as a person. But the faculty zealots for uniformity and homogeneity appear to have been determined that the ordinary rules of fraternities should not apply to Negroes.

Dr. Sharvy G. Umbeck, President of Knox College, defended the expulsion of the chapter: "We are taking away the right of national [fraternity] officers to exert influence on our students." Suppose Governor Faubus had declared, in defense of his policies in Arkansas, "We are taking away the right of national officers to exert influence on our students." Would Dr. Umbeck have recognized the validity of this argument? And when, indeed, did college administrations suddenly acquire the prerogative of unilateral abrogation of established rights?

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Dos Passos and Forrestal

FORREST DAVIS

John Dos Passos has turned aside from his diggings into the sources of the American patrimony to write a novel principally concerned with a martyr to the American cause: James V. Forrestal. *The Great Days* (Sagamore, $4.50) is, however, far more than a tract. Dos Passos accomplishes much in little, managing to compress within 312 pages a photographically realistic account of Forrestal's anguish and doom, a dirge over an aging journalist's lost week end in Havana and, finally, a rendering of the plight of the uncommitted in the crash and fury of these times.

Dos Passos' protagonist (his *hero* is Forrestal under the name of Roger Thurloe), the thoughtful, gallant, humanistic war correspondent Roland Lancaster, is brought to see the face of the enemy by Thurloe, by a "broadfaced little Balkan . . . with light brown monkey eyes" at the press hostel bar in Nuremberg and by his own acuity; but he refuses final commitment, hoping to remain a witness and a non-participant. He becomes, instead, an Outsider. We find Lancaster, at fifty-nine, widowed, rejected by editors, shunned by comrades of the international journalistic knight errantry, dismally pub-crawling in Havana with a "new girl," Elsa.

A tall, enticingly stacked doll of thirty from Milwaukee with auburn hair and the luminous skin that goes with it, Elsa insists on wearing canvas sneakers. Up North it had seemed to Lancaster imperative that he blow his last $3,000 on this Havana idyll, seeking replenishment, understanding and fresh courage, toying with a watery resolve to marry the girl if they hit it off. But Elsa hadn't traveled to Havana to share a bath of self-pity. Lancaster's reminiscences leave her blank. Winning command of the holiday, the girl insists that they live it up on daiquiris and Fundador. She escapes him among the *comparsas* street dancers of a fiesta; she shames him by reaching ecstasy with a cha-cha slicker; she forces him to consort with a wormy, snarling little "non-objective" painter, who alternately insults Lancaster and borrows from him and who fails at last to gain them admittance to the gamey rites of Nanigo, a devil cult. To his dismay Lancaster finds himself an outsider with Elsa, too.

Damp with rum, loneliness and frustration, he loses his wallet containing the better part of his $3,000 to a jostling dip during the fiesta. A query he cables his old editor in New York brings a prompt "no sale." Elsa, as it turns out, suffers from a Freudian sex block; Lancaster finds himself incompetent. He barely recovers his instinct for personal survival as he slips on the bottom slab of steps leading into Havana harbor.

The despairing outcome of Lancaster's recourse to the loins is, of course, the author's device to humanize Lancaster's fall: the husk of the grain Dos Passos has so deftly and economically distilled in *The Great Days*. The book is in essence a dialogue between Forrestal and Dos Passos, for it is impossible not to read into Lancaster's relations with Thurloe such intimations and into Lancaster's fate a reflection of Dos Passos' decline from liberal-leftist favor once he had perceived that beyond the Nazi lay a further and even more formidable dragon which the West must slay to save itself.

As the reader sees Dos Passos' own ordeal reflected in Lancaster's, he likewise must assume, if he had the privilege of knowing the Secretary of Defense, that the novelist had more than a passing acquaintance with that diffident, resolved and tormented statesman. Dos Passos' portrait of Forrestal, his tact, his cool intelligence, his illuminating insight into the Apocalyptic crisis confronting our society, could scarcely have been painted so explicitly had the Secretary not sat for it.

I THINK it a legitimate surmise that Dos Passos walked with Forrestal (as Lancaster walked with Thurloe) during the days of heartbreak when the Secretary sought, at the cost of his health, to convince his colleagues and the public that the false peace of 1945 masked a testing time more exigent. Dos Passos must have stood by helplessly as Forrestal was brought to bay by the forces of treason, spite, ignorance and the perverted humanism that, in this day, bids us yield to the ukases of Nikita S. Khrushchev.

For Forrestal, plunging to his death from the hospital room at Bethesda, fell to the enemy as surely as did Jan Masaryk when that stricken statesman preferred the hard stones of a Prague courtyard to submission. The assault upon Forrestal was total. It did not spare his personal honor.

Underlying his unsparing enactment of the humiliation of Lancaster at Havana, Dos Passos provides a series of flashbacks, wherein the ruined journalist recapitulates his association with Thurloe. They became neighbors in wartime Georgetown. The Secretary used Lancaster as his eyes and ears in bomb-wracked London, in the Pacific battle areas, and at the Nuremberg war crimes trials. That was a practice of Forrestal's. (He asked me in 1943 to accompany him to the Pacific for the purpose of mediating differences between the Navy and the press, saying "the admirals treat the correspondents as if they were a cross between labor leaders and Madams." Only the fatal illness of my mother precluded my going.)

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Lancaster shared Thurloe's forebodings. At Nuremberg he had penetrated to the truth: despite the unearthly horrors committed by the wretched and evil men in the dock, Soviet hands were no cleaner and our own not immaculate. He saw, too, that the impulse behind the *ex post facto* attribution of blame was Moscow's and that it served a Bolshevik purpose. His perceptions conditioned his reporting. Lancaster became unsound in the eyes of the enemy and all those responsive to the enemy's persuasions. He wrote a book enbodying Thurloe's apprehension and admonition. That marked him outcast to the reviewers of the Liberal Establishment. Whatever he wrote thereafter was suspect, to be ignored or derided.

His wife turned in spirit to Thurloe, preferring his commitment to Lancaster's passivity, for, although the hounds were on his traces, he would not turn and fight. In Havana, tasting the dregs of his degradation, he still yearned for rehabilitation, the journalistic big time and recognition, rather than political struggle.

At the end, putting Elsa on a Milwaukee-bound bus, finding a romantic kinship with the varied specimens of "the people" in the Miami bus depot, Lancaster could fetch up no more positive affirmation than, "I'll wait here a while. Some day I may be needed."

Far more than his ostracism by editors, critics and colleagues, more than the pain of his December-May fiasco, Lancaster was hoist by personal defeatism. That is, I suppose, the moral of this expertly contrived and moving work by a novelist who deserves a far higher estate than the Establishment wishes to grant him.

Beyond Good and Evil

STEPHEN J. TONSOR

AUSCHWITZ and Katyn, Belsen and Vorkuta are the true architectural expressions of our modern world. Another period might have constructed a counting-house or a cathedral, a castle or a palazzo, but our own architectural form is a jerry-built barracks surrounded by an electrified barbed-wire barricade. Nothing so clearly reveals the novelty of our "post-Christian era" as this dark night of the soul for which there is no tomorrow. We can at last see clearly into the moral chaos which is at the heart of our age and we feel ourselves threatened, not simply because we are frail flesh as these countless victims were. Suffering and death are not the inspired invention of the present age. We are threatened not in our bodies but in our souls; for the concentration camp strikes at man's spiritual integrity and becomes the visible sign of an inner lack of grace.

The historical reality of genocide and the mass relocation of populations seems ordinary enough. *R. K. F. D. V., German Resettlement and Policy 1939-1945* (Harvard, $6.50), by Robert L. Koehl, assistant professor of history at the University of Kansas, depicts its ordinary side in the dull and passionless tones of the historical monograph. Professor Koehl's history is competent, his industry has been prodigious, and his style is chaste. He is a well-mannered historian who is above kicking a beast, even though that beast be Heinrich Himmler. If he raises his editorial voice by way of a footnote it is only to call attention to his own very considerable erudition.

His book is an astonishingly good piece of administrative history. Using the captured German documents now in the Adjutant General's Office in Alexandria, Virginia, and the War Crimes Trials Series, he has painstakingly reconstructed the activities of the Reich Commission for the Strengthening of Germandom. He has recreated the Nazi world in microcosm. The nihilistic anarchy, the feudal loyalties, the irrationality and activism, the intrigues and gangsterism, the grandiose dreams and the confused accomplishments which characterized National Socialism are all reflected in this agency which sought to reshape the race of Europe in the "Nordic" image. If Professor Koehl lacks stature as a dramatist and a moralist he is a first-rate scientific historian.

But ordinariness is the illusion of our age, and it is no accident that in Professor Koehl's book we see the National Socialist administrative machine but never discern clearly the personalities of the men who work the levers. And yet it is precisely in the realm of the personal and the moral that history is made.

How is the historian who has for 150 years been embarrassed and terrified at the personal and the moral to deal with the problem of history? His temptation is to ignore the real historical problem and to settle for the trend, institution, or some other equally invalid abstraction. If his conscience is too sensitive and his perceptions too acute he may abandon history and turn to the novel.

THIS IS the solution of the historian, Professor Jacob Presser, in his novella, *The Breaking Point* (World, $2.50). Appearing in Dutch under the title of *De Nacht der Girondijnen,* this profound and frightening story is an attempt to go beyond history to the truly historical. It is a story whose beautiful and simple prose is haunted by death. Yet death has no tangible reality. Death lies in the future which all, even the most degraded, approach with as much hope as fear. It is a story pervaded by the twin illusions of ordinariness and survival.

The narrator is an "assimilated" Dutch Jew, professor of history, subtly, almost unconsciously anti-Semitic. By easy stages he becomes an "organization man" in the SS-like auxiliary which runs Westerbork, a

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staging camp for Auschwitz and the other extermination centers in the "German East." Each week Mr. Henriques, the narrator, helps to draw up the list of unfortunates leaving on the weekly train for torture and extermination. Between times he fills the role of spy and informer. Life is the reward for this debasement. Survival is everything. But in this world of the contracted ghetto become a camp, to survive physically one must die spiritually; to survive spiritually means physical death. The fictions of middle-class existence are blotted out and a little time is bought with the great substance of eternity.

It is interesting how at times the effect of space is achieved by the act of contraction. How easy it is to mistake the camp at Westerbork for the world—and Mr. Henriques, the "organization man," bears a strange resemblance to Everyman, the European Everyman of course, for he has read Goethe, Schiller and Heine.

Would it be wrong to say that although Mr. Henriques is undeniably, inescapably Jewish, he has a talent, even a flair for the work of the SS? Would it be wrong to conclude that he should have been, indeed he was, in every way a Nazi and that fortune alone, or better said, God's ancient choice, stood in the way?

How comforting to believe that the world of Westerbork and of Auschwitz came to an end in 1945. It would be pleasant to think that the strident inhumanity of disordered and amoral minds had spent itself in the discredited racism of Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia. We would rest easier if we could believe that racism, anti-Semitism and hate in all its protean forms was somehow due to a chaotic society, diseased politics, or a capitalistic economic order. "Isn't every conservative an anti-Semite and every liberal an anti-Catholic?" If only this were true it would be easy for the social engineers to legislate a new society.

"Spiritually," wrote Pope Pius XI, "we are all Semites." And he might have added, with equal justice, that we are all, yes, even the Jews, anti-Semitic. Anti-Semitic, it is true, not because we are conservatives or petty bourgeois but because we are men. Anti-Semitism is not a disease, it is a sin. Its roots do not lie in the natural order but rather in the irrational nature of man. It is an act of pure and gratuitous hatred which has no rational antecedents and can achieve no purposeful end. It is a surrender to evil; and in a society which can no longer make moral distinctions this surrender takes on the monstrous proportions of mass movements.

For this reason the history of the recent past cannot be explained by economic, sociological, or historical abstractions. History lies, as Jacob Presser has seen, in the realm of the personal and the moral.

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Movie Diary

ROBERT PHELPS

I THINK it was Eliot who said "we read many books because we cannot know enough people," and the same rationale applies to movie-going. Why we cannot know enough people is, of course, another matter, and originates, like so many of our ailing symptoms, in our increasing loss of any true community. The truth is, we are exiles in a manner and degree which our elaborate communications systems only superficially tend to conceal. Not able to reach each other in any other way, we settle for newspapers, books and movies, in which we can at least watch faces without feeling shameful or anxious about giving offense, and maybe being punched in the nose as a *voyeur*.

3/26—*The Academy Awards on TV.* I have always felt it a pity that some first-rate novelist—say, Isherwood—has never attempted an inside portrait of Hollywood. Not merely a satire, but the sort of complex image Proust made of the Faubourg St. Germain. The Hollywood star is Cocteau's *monstre sacré* carried to an nth power. A stage actress, even a Bernhardt, could never have shown herself to more than a couple of thousand people at the same time, and the quality of her exhibitionism was accordingly conditioned. When Miss Kim Novak, with her nearly vertical eyebrows and her tungsten-bright hair consumed over a full minute of nationwide TV time to insinuate herself down the aisle of the Pantages Theater and mount the steps to the stage, fifty million people were watching her. Setting aside her not very original strategies of an epidermically tight dress and a lapsed shoulder strap, her sangfroid was really hair-raising. **What such a creature** must be like *in propria persona* was only faintly suggested by the constrained faces of her co-workers as they watched her feeding herself to her public.

4/2—*The Enemy Below.* In this tautly directed (and by Dick Powell) story of a duel between an American sub-chaser and a German submarine, there was not a false note. Was this because it was essentially a story about craftsmanship, because the subject was a man's keen love of being professional, something which Hollywood not only understands, but does not feel obliged to pretty up, or betray? Robert Mitchum, Curt Jurgens—in fact, the whole cast as well as the boats themselves—were deeply satisfying to watch for every tense minute of the film.

4/7—*Sayonara.* The Hollywood Oscars for supporting actors were justly given to Red Buttons and Miyoshi Umeki for their portrayals of an American sergeant and a Japanese girl who marry in spite of racial prejudice on both sides and are eventually driven to suicide. To roles which might easily have been cloying, and functional only to the film's lesson in tolerance, they both bring

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an extraordinary delicacy and candor. As the star, Marlon Brando continues, in spite of a silly role, to remain the closest thing to Garbo that the American screen has produced since—*i.e.*, a personality whose power entirely transcends any particular role it happens to transmit itself by, a *monstre sacré* in the best, and more than grotesque, sense.

4/10—*The Quiet American.* The trouble with Joseph Mankiewicz's adaptation of Graham Greene's novel about the nuisance value of goody-goody American Liberals abroad, is that the "quiet" American as well as nearly everyone else *talks* too much. After I listened to Audie Murphy's baby-face explaining America's role in the world for an hour, I was unable to blame either the Communists who murdered him or the British correspondent who was duped into helping them.

4/11—I forced myself to sit through all three (or maybe it was twenty-three) hours of *A Farewell to Arms,* and on the way home, I decided it was not merely its total desertion of Hemingway's book that made it bad; nor the fact that the producer's wife, Mrs. David O. Jennifer Jones Selznick, was able to exhibit her hapless infantilism a good three-quarters of the screen time; nor that poor Vittorio De Sica was grimly earning some American dollars the hard way; nor that the tragedy of the Caporetto retreat was made the occasion for some of the most perfunctory pornography I've ever witnessed; nor that the death scene was in a quality of bad taste which was even more boring than it was vulgar; no. It was simply that, having paid for the use of Hemingway's title, Mr. Selznick and his writer, Ben Hecht, failed to make up a credible story of their own to sell under its label. For reasons known only to themselves, they have Catherine Barkley seduced the same night she meets Lt. Henry (Hemingway let weeks pass); and then, to justify what no Nice Girl could otherwise have done, they have made her a near-psychopath. Even played by an actress, this would have been preposterous and unnecessary. Unintentionally parodied by Jennifer Jones, it is ghoulish.

4/15—Was it only in reaction to *A Farewell to Arms* that I passed up all five of the movie houses within my usual ten-mile radius, and drove one hundred miles to Manhattan last night, in order to see, for the fourth time in as many months, the most subtle, imaginative and heart-breaking poem I have seen on the screen for years—Federico Fellini's *The Nights of Cabiria?*

BOOKS IN BRIEF

PORTRAIT OF A GOLDEN AGE, compiled and edited by Brian Connell (Houghton Mifflin, $6.50). These pleasing and jocund excerpts from the journals and letters of the second Viscount Palmerston (1739-1802) illustrate the serene rational society that made possible such men as Dr. Johnson, Gibbon, Hume, Porson and Burke. Palmerston was a man of large property, cultivated taste, educated intelligence, nice honor and equable judgment. His personal character is guaranteed by the attested devotion of his wives, whom he loved with a candid affection that reminds us of Sir Thomas More. He was, in short, a worthy representative of the landed gentry that made England great. His was an age of reason and social stability. It did not think itself Golden, but it may properly seem so to us when we see how much the lives of men of all classes have been shrunken, deformed, and made melancholy by the depredations of mercenary and visionary world-improvers.

R. P. OLIVER

A SECOND LOOK AT AMERICA, by General Aguinaldo and Vicente Albano Pacis (Speller, $5.00). Yes, this is the same General Emilio Aguinaldo who had his brief moment on the stage of history at the end of the nineteenth century; and Yes, he is still alive and—in each of two directions—kicking. His book is mostly devoted to his own version of what, surely, is the most inglorious business in American history: Dewey's recruitment of Aguinaldo and his forces as allies in the Spanish American War, with the promise of independence as bait, and the U.S. Government's subsequent insistence a) that no such promise had ever been made, and b) that the Philippines were not ready for independence. No reader who survives 200 pages of the half-bad-Spanish and half-bad-English syntax will fail to be convinced of the fact that the General got the rawest of raw deals; and the moral, insofar as the book is directed at the conscience of mankind, would appear to be, "Don't trust the Americans as far as you can throw a Cunarder's anchor." But that turns out not to be the point at all: the book ends up being a vindication of long-term U.S. policy in the Islands, and a summons to the uncommitted peoples to put their faith in that nation whom History has called to leadership of the free world. The General seems blissfully unaware of the net harm the U.S. has done by setting in the Philippines, on the cheap, a precedent that other colonial powers can follow only at great cost and by jeopardizing the future of Western civilization.

W. KENDALL

ALWAYS WITH HONOR, by Gen. Baron Peter N. Wrangel (Speller, $5.00). Gen. Wrangel commanded one of those White armies which, in the early years after the Red seizure of power, disputed Bolshevist control of Russia. Wrangel probably accomplished more than the others, but all the White armies were disorganized forces scattered over a vast and disorganized land, opposing a ruthless regime in possession of the seats of power, and depending on foreign aid that was always fickle and finally treacherous. Writing without the bitterness he might quite justly have displayed, his story nevertheless makes grim reading. Throughout his struggle, Wrangel kept calling for Western support on the ground that he was fighting civilization's battle. He did not get it, of course, and finally led his army (of 150,000) into exile. Such men were naturally an embarrassment to their former allies, and by the time Wrangel died in 1928, they had been swept under rugs all over the world. All in all, rather like the Hungarian affair?

J. P. MCFADDEN

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To the Editor

More Light on Mr. Kennan

Since writing my review of George Kennan's *Russia, the Atom and the West* [April 19], I have had my attention drawn to a letter written by him on February 1, 1958 to the *Neue Zuercher Zeitung.*

In this letter, a counter-argument to a sharp review by the *NZZ,* Kennan attempts to clarify his position. He says that he was not against NATO, only against its broadening and against the inclusion of a split Germany. He denies that he conducted a campaign for the neutralization of Germany, but does not deny that he is for such a neutralization. He also says that American forces should be withdrawn from Europe, but only on a clear *quid pro quo* basis. He avers that the *NZZ* thinks that a withdrawal of Russian forces from Germany, Poland and Hungary would not have much strategic meaning. Kennan disagrees and makes the startling assertion that such a withdrawal would change the European situation fundamentally, *to the advantage of both parties.* He also doubts that the Soviet Union would make some kind of an agreement in order to get the U.S. out of Europe and immediately follow up with reoccupation. Even if this were to happen, the West would not be "so helpless as is often assumed."

I believe that in justice to Mr. Kennan his own interpretation of the dispute should be available to the readers of my review—although that interpretation rather falls short of clearing up the ambiguities of his position.

Washington, D. C. STEFAN T. POSSONY

Historian or Apologist?

William Buckley's article concerning Arthur Schlesinger Jr. [April 5] was superb. That final sentence, four words that contain the key to America's disintegration, conveyed more truth than the combined volumes of Mr. Schlesinger's "history." Conservatives are almost immune to the blatant distortions of history by the Establishment, but it is frightening nonetheless to see 1984 descend upon us so rapidly.

To parody a popular phrase, it is not so much a question of who called that historian a liberal apologist, as it is of who called that liberal apologist an historian.

Philadelphia, Pa. EDWIN MCDOWELL

Radio Free Europe

I was encouraged to read of your interest in the problem of Radio Free Europe [March 29].

It appears that perhaps the greatest problem for the proposed Committee will be evaluation of the charges against the Czech and Rumanian sections of RFE. In the Czech section the concern is not only the theoretical question of advocacy of Titoism versus condemnation of Communism as such, but the charge that the policy personnel are *personae non gratae* at home because of their active part in the fairly complete communization of the Czechoslovak Republic long before the conspicuously easy "coup" of 1948. . . .

Corvallis, Ore. N. M. LEIGH

Mr. Emmet Declines

NATIONAL REVIEW'S editorial on March 29 proposed a committee of inquiry to investigate the charges by Fulton Lewis, Jr., against Radio Free Europe and mentioned me as a possible member of such a committee. I feel honored to be included with the others on your list but I must decline the honor of serving on the committee if it is set up.

For years I have observed and have had occasional contacts with the operations of Radio Free Europe and, in addition, I have already made a sufficiently thorough study of Mr. Lewis' specific charges to form my own conclusions about them, hence I could not approach the task of this committee with an open mind. I am satisfied that Mr. Lewis' charges are based partly on misunderstanding and partly on misinformation. Granted that, as your editorial suggests, a few of the points made in the Radio Free Europe Fact Sheets were one-sided or ill judged, nevertheless a considerable number of the criticisms were conclusively answered there. Some other matters could not be publicly answered without helping the Communists and, in fact, some of the charges inadvertently duplicate those of the Communists, who have for years concentrated much of their venom on attacks against Radio Free Europe. In still other matters, it seems to me, Fulton Lewis has sent his criticisms to the wrong address.

I also do not agree with all of Radio Free Europe's political policies, but as NATIONAL REVIEW'S editorial makes clear, it is manifestly unfair to criticize Radio Free Europe for the foreign policies of the U.S. Government. As a private American organization broadcasting from territories of foreign countries, Radio Free Europe's basic policies naturally would have to be coordinated with those of the U.S. Government and of the host countries, regardless of the question of alleged government control. Therefore, it seems to me that much of the criticism, whether justified or not, makes Radio Free Europe the whipping boy for an oblique attack on U.S. Government policies. Within its limitations, in my opinion, Radio Free Europe has rendered an essential anti-Communist service.

For these reasons I believe that no congressional investigation, with its inevitable publicity, is either wise or necessary. Whether or not a private investigation, such as NATIONAL REVIEW suggests, might be beneficial in clearing up misunderstandings would depend not only on how far both sides are willing to cooperate, but on the discretion with which members of the committee carry out their task. I have complete confidence in the integrity and fairness of those whose names have been suggested, and complete confidence in the constructive motives of NATIONAL REVIEW in proposing this committee, but I disagree, as this letter indicates, with some of the points in your editorial.

I believe that if the committee is set up it should consider not only the validity and accuracy of the charges against Radio Free Europe but the question of their fairness

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and justification, such as to what extent, if any, was the presentation of the charges misleading, or less than frank; or the question raised disingenuous or rhetorical. It seems to me that in an investigation of this sort, where political questions are indirectly involved and where personal charges and counter charges have been made, it is only fair to appraise the actions of both parties to the dispute, not just one of them.

If the committee is set up, I will gladly place any information I have at its disposal.

New York City CHRISTOPHER EMMET

"Inside" the Tribune

In your column, "For the Record," of March 29 you say: "Insiders believe the *Chicago Tribune* was influenced to oppose the Jenner Bill by the son of its chief editorial writer, who serves a Supreme Court Justice as clerk."

I do not know who these insiders may be or what they are inside of; but I do know that I have not exchanged even one word about the Jenner Bill with my son.

Your insiders may find it hard to believe but it is simply a fact that the *Tribune* opposed the bill for the reasons given in the editorial.

Chicago, Ill. LEON STOLZ
Chief Editorial Writer
Chicago Tribune

Our Messianic Diplomats

NATIONAL REVIEW, whether by design or coincidence, has matched up two articles, that make a perfect team: "Communism, Democracy and Religion," by Ernest van den Haag, [March 22] and "Dilemmas of Foreign Policy," by Frank Meyer [March 29]. The first explains what is right and true, and the second defines man's responsibilities in the light of that truth. And that just about takes care of mortal existence.

If I understand Mr. van den Haag, he contends that a transcendent concept of the cosmos, including man, is essential to peace, freedom and happiness. If I understand Mr. Meyer, the struggle for those goals is worthy of our best efforts and even the supreme sacrifice.

By refusing to face the reality of Communism we are losing the struggle. Our refusal takes the form of peaceful coexistence, cultural exchanges, trade, etc. "If," as Mr. Meyer says, the USSR is ". . . the state form taken by a materialist faith determined to rule the world and wipe out on the earth the very memory and image of man as a free being . . . then, the destruction of this state is a clear duty."

How, then, explain the attitude and antics of those who guide our destinies in international affairs, particularly with the Communist countries? Is it possible for some to believe that Communists can be "converted"? If we do enough missionary work can the Communists be won to our philosophy and way of life? I have my own ideas on who is being converted, but is that a legitimate explanation for our policy and attitude?

Price, Utah MARK HAMMOND

War, Weapons and Morality

An editorial paragraph in your March 29 issue impels me to comment. While I could never be classed among the supporters of Mr. Harry S. Truman, your analysis of his statement to the City Council of Hiroshima is grossly unfair.

". . . thoughtfulness, magnaminity, and gallantry" which you require of Mr. Truman were certainly *not* required, in my opinion. I wonder why it is that individuals having access to the public press feel that "we" (the United States) must apologize for being smart enough to utilize the most advanced techniques of warfare available. Certainly it is no less immoral to kill thousands of people with fire bombs (as Tokyo was devastated) than to kill thousands with one atomic weapon. War is basically immoral, and I do not believe that shades of meaning within this concept are pertinent.

Why must we have "sympathy for the survivors of Hiroshima's dead" more than sympathy for any other dead in any war in history? It is too late for sympathy when the first overt action occurs which precipitates an engagement. . . .

Your comment as to "Was it *really* necessary" is only as pertinent as the same question asked about the war with Japan from December 7, 1941 on. Certainly, both were unnecessary in the larger sense. However, once the action was initiated, any and all measures were *necessary* to bring about a speedy conclusion. . . . Once the bow and arrow were invented, there was no way to stop the improvement of means to kill our fellow men. So let's not quibble.

Silver Spring, Md. D. W. SENCEBAUGH

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SPEAKERS FOR the May 26 Crusade for America forum will be Wm. F. Buckley Jr., and L. Brent Bozell. To receive full information, write Crusade for America, 51 Front St., Rockville Center, L.I., N.Y.

FREEDOM SCHOOL now accepting applications for enrollment in 1958 summer courses. Instructors include: Frank Chodorov, James Doenges, E. W. Dykes, Percy Greaves Jr., F. A. Harper, R. C. Hoiles, Louis Milione Jr., Robert LeFevre, Leonard Read, James Rogers, Fred Clark, Rose Wilder Lane, William Paton. Write Box 165, Colorado Springs, Colo., for free descriptive folder.

"THE TRANQUIL WORLD of Dwight D. Eisenhower," by Wm. F. Buckley Jr., available in reprint form, 15¢ each, 100 for $10.00. Dept. R, National Review, 211 E. 37th St., New York 16.

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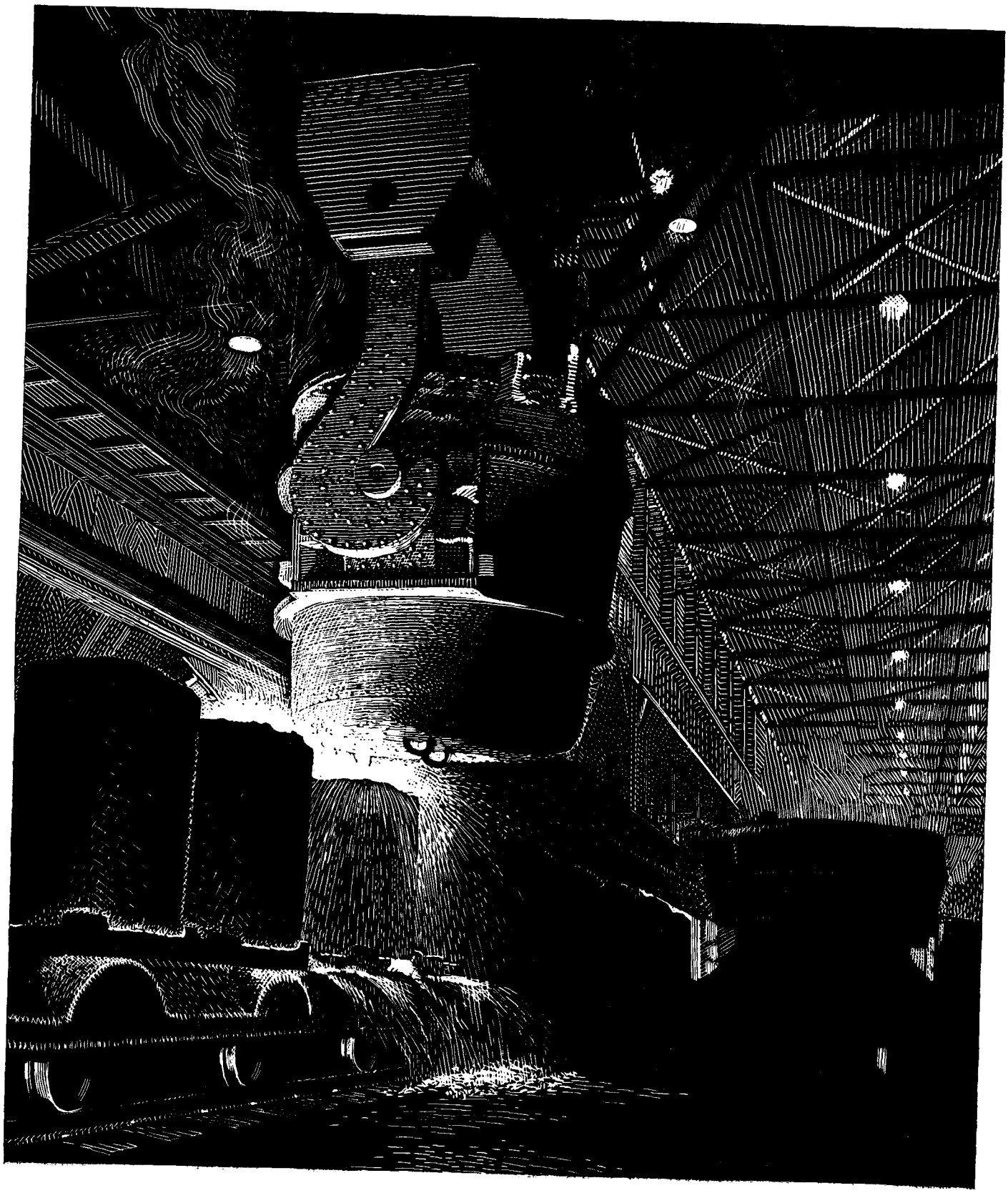

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